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DR. S. MILLINGTON MILLER AND THE MECKLENBURG DECLARATION

[In the exposure of Dr. Miller's interesting fabrication there have been two marked stages. In the period from the time of its publication to December 30, 1905, the leading part in the attack was taken by Mr. A. S. Salley, Ir., Secretary of the Historical Commission of South Carolina, who assailed it in the Columbia State of July 30, and in the pamphlet mentioned below. From December 30 on, in consequence of Dr. Miller's exhibition of his document on that day, the leading part naturally fell to Mr. Worthington C. Ford, Chief of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Con-At the request of the managing editor, these two gentlemen have kindly furnished the Review with accounts of the first and second acts of the comedy respectively. The ancient question of the Mecklenburg Declaration, it is perhaps needless to say, remains where it stood before, except that Dr. Miller's efforts have resulted in awakening renewed interest in it and in eliciting some new bits of evidence. Our thanks are due to the editor of Collier's for permission to reproduce the original photograph first printed in their pages (plate I., post)1; to Mr. Salley for plate II.; to the authorities of the Public Record Office, Messrs. B. F. Stevens and Brown of London, and Mr. Alexander Graham of Charlotte, North Carolina, for plates III. and IV.—ED.]

I.

On April 30, 1819, the Raleigh Register and North Carolina Gazette,² of Raleigh, North Carolina, published a set of resolutions that were alleged to have been passed in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, by a convention, on May 20, 1775, and that had been rewritten from memory by John McKnitt Alexander, terming them a "Declaration of Independence". A controversy over their genuineness was immediately started and has never ended. The latest attempt to prove them genuine was made by "S. Millington Miller, M.D." in an article on the Mecklenburg "Declaration" which he contributed to the issue of Collier's for July 1, 1905. It was an elaborate but vain attempt to deceive the public by a fac-

¹We regret to find that the reduction in size has entailed some loss of clearness.

²On file in the Library of Congress.

simile of an alleged contemporary newspaper containing the alleged "Declaration of Independence".

There is in the British Public Record Office in London a letter written by Governor Josiah Martin of North Carolina on June 30, 1775, to the Earl of Dartmouth, British Secretary of State for the American Department, in which Governor Martin referred to the "Resolves of the Committee of Mecklenburg" which his lordship would find in a newspaper which the governor enclosed in the letter.1 This newspaper is missing from the letter, and written across the back of the letter is this pencilled note: "A printed paper taken out by Mr. Turner for Mr. Stevenson, August 15, 1837". Mr. Stevenson was then United States minister to England. Miller has produced a paper which he claims to have found among some papers left by Mr. Stevenson, and succeeded in imposing a photograph of it upon the editors of Collier's as a photograph of a genuine issue of the Cape-Fear Mercury of "Friday, June 3RD, 1775". His date was derived from a tradition held in North Carolina that the paper borrowed by Stevenson was the Cape-Fear Mercury of June 3, 1775.

As soon as the writer saw Miller's article in Collier's, he became convinced that there was something wrong with the alleged contemporary newspaper. It was not like any of the many contemporary newspapers he had seen, and he began to investigate. The history of the Cape-Fear Mercury being easily obtained, he soon produced absolute proof of the spuriousness of Miller's facsimile, which proof he has recently printed in pamphlet form.² The part of that pamphlet essential to an understanding of the forgery is reprinted in the following paragraphs, with a few amendments and additions.

Isaiah Thomas's History of Printing fixes Friday, October 13, 1769, as the date of the first issue of the Cape-Fear Mercury; and a copy of number 7 thereof for Friday, November 24, 1769, in the library of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, substantiates Thomas. Counting from Friday to Friday and making no allowance for 1772 as a leap-year, it will be seen that there are 295 Fridays to and including the first Friday in June, 1775, and that Friday falls on June 3; but allow for twenty-nine days in February, 1772, and it will be seen that the first Friday in June, 1775, fell on the second of the month and not on the third as this spurious paper has it. The manufacturer of that paper miscalculated. Nor did the miscalculation stop on that one item. The

¹ See Colonial Records of North Carolina, X. 48.

²The True Mecklenburg "Declaration of Independence" (Columbia, S. C., 1905).

manufacturer counted the number of weeks, not the number of Fridays (inclusive), and numbered his paper wrong. He numbered it 294. It should have been 295 to have the correct number of Fridays. But the history of the Cape-Fear Mercury shows that it was not issued continuously every Friday from October 13, 1769, to June 2, 1775. The following extract from the journal of the Wilmington Committee of Safety for January 30, 1775, shows that the paper had suspended publication at some time prior to the latter date:

Mr. Adam Boyd, having applied for encouragement to his newspaper (some time ago laid aside), it was resolved that the committee . . . would support him on the following terms: That he, Mr. Boyd, should weekly continue a newspaper, denominated the Cape Fear Mercury, of 21 inches wide, 17 inches long, 3 columns on a page, and of the small pica or long primer letter, and in return receive his payment at the following periods, viz: ten shillings at the delivery of the first number, ten shillings at the end of every succeeding six months thereafter.\(^1\)

It now appears, though the fact was doubtless unknown to Miller as to most others, that there are five copies of the Cape-Fear Mercury in London. Of these, that of nearest date to Friday, June 2, 1775, is dated Friday, July 28, 1775, exactly eight weeks later, and yet it is number 266 (plate IV.). The three papers of later date in 1775 accord with this in dating and numbering. All five are of two columns to the page, not three.

But the wrong date and the wrong number are not the only evidences of spuriousness on the face of the facsimile of this paper. There are three distinct shades to the paper, marked by clearly defined lines, showing that the cut was made from a photograph of at least three distinct and separate pieces of paper put together. The heading undoubtedly came from a genuine Cape-Fear Mercury, but not one of "June 3RD, 1775". A comparison of the cut of the genuine paper in the American Antiquarian Society's library (plate II.) with that in Collier's of the spurious paper (plate I.) will show that the latter bears exactly the same stains, specks, typographical defects, etc., as the former, and that the heading of this spurious paper is in fact an altered copy of the genuine one. For instances: the right upper horn of the little ornament over the parenthesis before "Friday" is broken off in both; just to the right of the same parenthesis is a speck that appears on both cuts; just under the "F" is another; inside of the "U" in "Mercury" is another;

¹ S. B. Weeks, The Press of North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century (Brooklyn, Hist. Printing Club, 1891), 33.

and so on all over the heading. Some apparent effort has been made to remove the larger stains from the altered copy, with the result that the altered copy is blurred or scratched at every single point where these stains show up clearly in the unchanged copy. It is well known to several people in Worcester that S. Millington Miller was in Worcester a short time before this article appeared in Collier's and that he visited the library of the American Antiquarian Society, and it is also known that the Society's copy of the Cabe-Fear Mercurv was photographed for him prior to the appearance of his article in Collier's. The following letter will throw some light on the matter:

> PHOTOGRAPHERS' ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND Office of the First Vice-President

Mr. A. S. Salley,

Columbia, S. C.

My Dear Sir:-

Your inquiry of the 11th inst. to hand. I did make a copy of the Cape Fear Mercury for S. Millington Miller, but for some reason he wanted a reverse negative made—and in doing this there might have been a slight deviation from the exact size1, but in your copy I feel quite sure that the dimensions are exactly the size of the original, as I was very particular about the size.2 I thank you for giving me cr. for the copy in your reproduction.

Very truly yours,

I. CHESTER BUSHONG No. 6 Elm St.

Worcester, Mass., Nov. 13, 1905.

The metal in the electroplate loaned the writer for his pamphlet by Collier's shows up brighter where the erasures were made on Mr. Bushong's photograph or negative. The next photograph and the equally faithful half-tone made therefrom and the electroplate made from that all preserve the truth quite plainly.

That the date of the genuine paper was altered for the reproduction is quite evident. "June 3RD" is not in the usual type used for printing the months in the Mercury's date-line; it is not in the same type as "November 24" in the genuine paper. The "J" and "une" are not in the same relative proportion as the "N" and "ovember". The "RD" is in small capitals, which were seldom or never used in date abbreviations in the body of a newspaper then and are not used now-always lower-case letters-and it was not the style of the Cape-Fear Mercury to use figures followed by "rd" or "th" in the date-line; a comma was all that was used, but the

¹ The dimensions given by Miller in Collier's are 81/4 by 133/4.

² Mr. E. M. Barton, the librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, confirms Mr. Bushong. The writer has a letter from him stating that the photograph made by Mr. Bushong for the writer was made the exact size of the paper, namely, 83% by 131/4.

"RD" in small capitals appears to have been used in this case to fill up an awkward space. The "Friday" and the "1775" occupy exactly the same positions on this paper that they do on the Antiquarian Society's paper. "June 3," is not so long as "November 24," and would leave an awkward space which the "RD" in small capitals, followed by the comma, helps to fill up for the sake of appearance. Besides, the appearance of the electroplate indicates that a change was made on the original photograph or the negative thereof before being reproduced. This does not show in the print as it does on the electroplate made from previous reproductions. The "75" in "1775" is also in a different type from the "17"; the "5" is awry; and the "2" in "294" is in a different type from the "9" and the "4".

Another significant fact is that the copies of the Cape-Fear Mercury that are in London, issued in 1775 (e. g., plate IV.), are without the royal arms of Great Britain and the Latin motto that appear on the heading of the paper issued in 1769 that is in the library of the American Antiquarian Society. The same types were used for the title, however.

Again, the types in the first two columns appended to this heading are different. The type of the Mecklenburg "Declaration" in the first column are apparently modern type, and are smaller and trimmer than the type of the second column, which are the clumsylooking type of the Revolutionary period. The second column was apparently taken from a paper published just after the Lexington and Concord fights, in April, 1775, giving the casualties of those fights. The small piece of this column preserved in the cut in Collier's is exactly—punctuation and all—like the account of those fights published in Almon's Remembrancer. But the names are in italics in the Remembrancer, and its account was doubtless copied from an earlier paper; and it was probably from that earlier paper that Miller cut the account and used the first of it to fill up his first column below his Mecklenburg "Declaration" and continued it on his second column. We are uninformed as to what constituted his third column, for the editors of Collier's cut off from their photograph all but the heading, the "Declaration" and four lines of its alleged list of signers, and the small piece of the second column shown in the cut. Another striking coincidence is that when Miller was in Charlotte in the spring of 1905 he was shown a copy of Almon's Remembrancer containing this account of the Concord and Lexington fights, and tried to buy it.

The first column, which contains only the first three of the five resolves of the alleged Mecklenburg "Declaration" of May 20, with



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FRIDAY, November 24, 1769.)

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CERTICIPAL: LESS CERTICIPAL (ERROCERT)

To bis Excellency William Tryon, Efg., Captein-General, Governor, and Com-mander in Chief, in and over his Majef. 17's Province of North-Carolina.

The Address of the Assembly of the said Pra-

SIR

by B his Majefty's most duciful and loyaludy fits, the mens in bers of the affemble of the mens in bers of the affemble of the mens of the fits of the mens of the mens in the bers of the fits of the mens of

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king provision of powder and a majety's fervice and the de-his government, at this time, are enjoying the bleftings of initius fir, to fay, we humbly.

Is by no means necessary, as of test wharfoever upon our I Thank you for your or po necessity be a discourage. I my return from Mrg

The flate of our public fluids at no time fince the fetilement of the polony has required a more fluid examination than at prefent; and we agree with your excelency that a fettlement of the public accounts should be forthwith obtained, fo as a general flate of them may be made known to the country; and fight be extremely obliged to your excelence for say obtervations or regulations in the manner of section the public accounts that you of keeping the public accounts that you shall be pleased to lay before us, which may tend to render the same free from that obscurity they have hitherto bee

to and we happy as to a roundry as to in cluties having be ne true principles of principles that we see

We fyingathize with the unfortunate function and the control of th

To which ADDRESS bis

tendency as to be prejudicial rather than tisfaction if the fupply of an dranlageous to the country. the country, and the still town of Newbern, which I is ed to you in my speech, had been honors ed with your approbation.

WILLIAM TRYON.

North-Carolina, Newbarn, 20. 13, 1760 Recommended by his Excellency to the house of representatives now alternition as an object worthy of their attention, that they take under confideration the flate of the public revenue, and the regular application thereof, for the puse the confideration that they are the public to the public revenue, and they require a publication thereof, for the puse the confideration that the con gular application thereof, for the poles to which it is appropriated.

THE facts too well known to ad-ait of a cenial, that in a long course of years past, great sums of public money have been lost by the negligence or infolvency of theritis, and other collectors.

And it is prefumed courte of time, confident been funk, after they ublic treatury, whereof account has

hitherto hear made.

A law of this province fately paffed, will, if executed with vigor, probably, in a great measure, prevent, for the time to come, the first of these mischiesa, and a law to prevent the latter, might be great public utility, for mankind net part with their interest, to readily, when some that the benefit, to readily, when some that I make the bones of the purpose in the latter than the latter, might be latter than the latter than the latter than the latter than the latter, might be latter than the latte

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L. PRANTER FRANKA FRANKA BANKA BANKA

WEDNESDA Y, DECEMBER 29, 1773. Numb. 204.

THE PUB LICK.

OCTOR WARD makes his samed acknowledgment of thanks and the notice of thanks and the notice of the new test me to be not the notice of the new test me to be not the new test me to be of the new test me test me to be of the new test me thinks, which therefore, the test me test me test me thinks, which there is not a test me thinks, and the new test the new test me test me thinks, and the new test the new test me test the new test

InGov Martin's (5039) of 28 august 1775.

CAPEFEAR MERCURY.

FRIDAY, JULY 28, 1775.

FNo. 266

A CIRCULAR LETTER

To the COMMITTEES of South-CAROLINA.

Charleflown, June 30, 1775-

FELLOW-CITIZENS.

HIS year will be a grand epocha in the history of mankind. In this confpicuous and ever-memora-bit year, America has been abufed, and Britain has dif-graced herielf, in an unexampled manner. All the guilt of all the English ministers of state, from the reign of the of all the Englith miniters of flate, from the reign of the First William, to the conclusion of the late war, does not equal the guilt that British ministers have incurred since the latter period. The measure of their iniquity appears now full. They feen fixed in the pursuit of their plan to enclave America, in order that they might ensure Great-Britain; to elevate the monarch, that has been placed on a throne only to govern under the law—into a throne above all law. But, divine providence has infpired the Americans with such virtue, courage, and conduct, as has already attracted the attention of the universe, and will make them samous to the latest possession. verse, and will make them famous to the latest posterity. The Americans promife to arrest the hand of tyranny,

The Americans promife to arrest the hand of tyranny, and to fave even Britania from hackles.

In a former letter we declared to yor, that there was "but little probability of deciding the prefent unhappy public diffoutes, by the pacific measures we have hickerto purfued?" Out iteas were juft, and with the deepert, grief, yet famest refolution, we now announce to you, that the fword of civil war, is not only actually drawn, but flained with about 1. The king's toops have at length commenced hollitities against this continent; and not confining their ungenerous attacks, against men in seven defending their proporties, they have flaughtered not confining their ungenerous attacks, against men in arms defending their properties, they have flaughtered the unarmod, the fick, the helplefs: having long insiferiminately opposited, they have now maffacted out fellow inbjects in Maffachufetts-Bay. Mark the event Their enormities were fearedly perpetrated, when the civine vengeance purfeed the guilty, even from the riving up of the sine, until the going down of the sine: the king's troops were discomitted; they fied before our injured friends; the night faved them from total destruction.

But fee, in what mannet the American civil war com-menced; and we lay before you the cafe, as flated by general Gage on the one part, and by the voice of Ame-rica on the other.

general Gage on the one part, and by the voice of America on the other.

The general fent a detachment, of about 800 foldiers into the country, to feize and defiroy the property of the people of the Midlachoferts-Bay. This detachment, in their way to Concord, at Lexington, faw "about 200 such trawn up on a green, and when the troops came within 100 yards of them (a fituation out of the line of their march, they began to file off." The foldiers upon "obferring this," "ran after them, to furround and difform them. Some of them, who had jumped over a wall, then fired four or five fhot at the troops," and, "upon this," the foldiers "began a feattered fare, and killed feveral of the country people." Clear as it is, even from this fate, that the king's troops, by running after, actually tracked the provincials peaceably fling offs, yet general Gage has the integrity to enable his matrative of this unfortunate affair, "a circumfantial apprount of ou attach on his majeful's troops by a number of the people of Madachmers-Bay." But mea will read to be furposed at this, when they are told the general makes no Gruple us tholste even a folerar engagement. After the general's defected troops returned to Ballon, he declared, that if the analyticate of that de-

voted city would deliver up their arms, he would peramit them to retire from the town, with their effects: They delivered up near 3000 ftand of arms--and to this day, they are, in hameful breach of the capitulation, detained in captivity, patiently enduring the calamities of

However, the voice of America thus describes the commencement of this unnatural war: about eight or nine hundred foldiers came in fight, just before fun-rife, of about 100 men, training them. Ives to arms, as rlic, of about 100 men, training themiclees to arms, as ufual; and the troops running within a few rods of them, the commanding officer called out to the militia, "differfe you rebels, damn you, throw down your arms and disperfe." Upon which the troops hozza'd—immediately one or two efficers difcharged their pifols, and then there feemed to be a general difcharge from the whole body. Eight Americans were killed upon the post, and hine were wounded. The foldiers, in a few minutes, refumed their march to Concord; and three, fpeedily deftroyed a confiderable quantity of flour and other flores belonging to the public. Another party of militia, about 150 men, alarmed at such violences, had affembled near a bringe at Concord. The foldiers fired upon them, and killed two men. It was first respected affembled near a bridge at Concord. The foldiers fired upon them, and killed two men. It was this reapeated act of deadly hoftliny that routed the Americans to repel force by force. They flow returned the fires beat the king's troops out of the town, and compelled them to return to be king to the town, where they met a reinforcement of the concording the property of the property being, by this time, increased in their numbers, they foon dislodged the troops from this polt; who, during the remainder of the day, made a precipitate retreat through the American five, and gained a place of farley under cover of the might; in this battis of Lexington, the Americans had 29 men killed, and 19 wounded. The king's troops loft 266 men, killed, wounded, and missing; and, by subsequent accounts, it appears, that, in configuence of that action, general Gage's 2rmy has fulfilled. sing; and, by subsequent accounts, it appears, that, in consequence of that action, general Gage's army has fultilized a diminution of 1000 men, by death, wounds, prisoners, desertion, surfacts, and other incapabilities of service. For the troops being four-and-twenty house on duty, marched, sought, amd steet incapabilities of service. For the troops being four-and-twenty house on duty, marched, sought, amd steet, which is a service of the service of the pricked men of the whole army—grenadiers, light infantry, and marines, carefully prepared for the expedition, were desented and driven, by about 1200 American militia, brought to repel an enexpected strack, and marched in accidental parties upon the foru of the excasion. Let is be delivered down to posterity, that the American envir war broke out on the 19th day of April, 1755.—An especial that, in all probability, will mark the decleasion of the British samping.

Such an important event as the actual commencement of civil war, caused the convention of the congress, out the first of june; in order, but some provision might be made against impending calamities. The congress note on the 22d instant; and it is ent duty to inform you and though you, the public at Jarge, of the marchal stranscribes of this important selfon.

As a first step of your desence, it was thought expedient to white the inhabitants of the colority, as a hundin her desone against every foe; "and to this purpose on the fourth day of June, immediately after the celebration of divine service, in congress, an afficiation was officially as a transmitted in the fourth day as June, inhabitant in Chailchows, and transmitted may be affortation was fournarily shiftinged by almost every the affortation was fournarily shiftinged by almost every the souther affortation was fournarily shiftinged by almost every the south.

the names appended of the chairman, secretary, and others of the alleged members of the convention, was evidently set up for the especial purpose of making this very column, and was then printed off on a well "doctored" piece of paper. It was set in modern type, and as the font evidently contained no old-fashioned long "s" (which resembles an "f"), a modern "f" was used in lieu thereof. The difference is apparent. The bar at right angles to the perpendicular extends from the left across to the right of the perpendicular in the "f"; it stops at the perpendicular of the old-style "s." alleged contemporary print of the Mecklenburg "Declaration" faithfully follows in capitalization, punctuation, spelling, and the arrangement of the names of the alleged signers of the "Declaration" (save that the lines of the Chairman and the Secretary are reversed. while they retain their proper positions on those lines) a broadside printed in Joseph Johnson's Traditions and Reminiscences of the Revolution in 1851, which did not pretend to be a copy from the original "Declaration", but is now known to be a copy of another broadside of the "Declaration", manufactured about 1825, and presenting a list of the alleged signers. Mr. Alexander's memory could not possibly have been so accurate as to have enabled him to remember the very spelling, capitalization, punctuation, and arrangement of a paper he had not seen in many years; and it is also a significant fact that when Miller was in Charlotte in the spring of 1905 he was presented with one of these broadsides.

These several pieces of paper were placed in juxtaposition and photographed, and the first and second columns were not so placed as to make their perpendicular lines of type exactly parallel.

If the controversy over the Mecklenburg "Declaration of Independence" is ever settled, it will have to be done by genuine contemporary documents and not by spurious ones like this.

A. S. SALLEY, JR.

II.

Being asked by a member of the North Carolina Historical Commission to give my opinion of the Cape-Fear Mercury of June 3, 1775, which Dr. S. Millington Miller was holding for sale, I went to Baltimore on the morning of December 30 under an arrangement with the three gentlemen representing North Carolina, namely, Dr. George W. Graham, Mr. Alexander Graham, and Mr. R. O. Alexander. Under a plea of an important engagement Miller left the city before I arrived, but agreed to "endeavor to secure" my opinion "by a direct written request upon him [me] within five days of this date." The committee reported that Miller showed to them a two-

columned paper (that reproduced in *Collier's* being one of three columns, *see* plate I.), and specified that the word "Medford" was printed in the third line from the top of the second column in Miller's sheet, whereas the Collier facsimile gave the second syllable of the word, "ford", as the first word of the second column. Further, to Mr. Waldo G. Leland, who accompanied me to Baltimore, and who has shown a keen and intelligent interest in the subject, the committee gave definite points upon the water-mark of the paper, the repairs upon it, and the general appearance of the sheet, which formed the basis of questions to Dr. Miller in my talks with him.

On December 30, Dr. Miller wrote that he would see me on one of three days he named, and I at once named Friday, January 5. I was with him for an hour and a half on Friday and nearly two hours and a half on Saturday, with his Cape-Fear Mercury before me. My questions were all framed with an idea to show how and when he obtained this paper. I was obliged to conclude that his statements are entirely unreliable, and that he was offering a paper which he knew to be a forgery, and of which he was presumably the forger. The most puzzling feature in the matter, however, lay in the definite statement of the three gentlemen from North Carolina that he showed to them in Baltimore a two-columned paper. It was a threecolumned paper that I saw, and the water-mark, the repairs, and the location of the word "Medford" all corresponded to what the committee saw. Even if they had told Miller what points they thus especially noted, and they assure me that they did not, it was a physical impossibility for him to have manufactured a new sheet in the interval of five days, with like points. Inasmuch as Miller in all probability had taken the copy of the Cape-Fear Mercury at Worcester (plate II.) as his model (a three-columned paper), there was no reason for his submitting a two-columned sheet. The committee did have in their possession photographs of two-columned Mercurys for 1773 and 1775, obtained from London (plates III. and IV.), and may have confused their impressions of what they did see. justice to them it may be said that all three reiterated their statement of a two-columned paper in Miller's hands when by telegraph I called attention to the discrepancy.

I repeat the description of the paper itself which I made to the North Carolina Commission:

The paper itself is a three-columned paper, printed on one side of a sheet of paper. The width of the three columns of type is about eight inches, the length of the type-column (exclusive of heading) is about ten inches. I preferred taking these measurements, as the column-

length would not vary from week to week so much as would the sheet of paper. The sheet was an entire sheet without wire-marks, but did have a water-mark toward the top and lying about half-way between the two side edges of the sheet. This water-mark is of a lozenge shape with crown, fleur-de-lis, and spear or arrow shaft, without letters or figures. The paper was thinner than was usually employed in newspaper work of that day, and had been folded twice, once lengthwise and once across. These folds had weakened the paper so as to call for mending. This repair work consists of two strips of tissue-paper pasted along the folds, and a third one on the right-hand or outer edge of the paper where signs of wear were obvious. The left or inner edge had the appearance of having been taken from a bound volume, and was ragged, with a tendency to be uniformly torn on the upper and lower halves. The type-line was not broken or injured, showing little beyond the effect of a fold. The repair work had been done by Dr. Miller himself. The ink was fair in appearance, the impression not rough enough for an example of medium press (hand) work of that time, not black enough for a good example. The columns were not crowded but were spaced and made-up fair. Altogether it is a paper which is a really fine specimen of the forger's art, and well calculated to pass for a genuine issue of the printing-press of that day. I lay no stress on the spots or discoloration which appear on the sheet, as they belong to the most vulgar processes of the imitator's art; but would add that Dr. Miller is well-informed of the effects produced in ink and paper by certain chemical treatment.

Some of the information obtained by me was as follows:

1. In Collier's Miller states that the Mercury was "discovered among some papers of Andrew Stevenson, U. S. Minister to the Court of St. James's". He told me that, more than a year before, he had bought about two or three thousand of the papers of Andrew Stevenson, among which were only two or three letters of Stevenson himself. In one of these he found the Mercury folded. This particular letter was written by Stevenson in February, 1837, to "B. B. Thatcher, now at Brighton". It had been opened by another Thatcher and returned to Stevenson at London. No mention of a newspaper was given in the letter, and the word which Miller read as "newspaper" was "permission". Inasmuch as it was not until August, 1837, that Stevenson saw the papers in the Public Record Office, this letter could have no connection, direct or indirect, with the alleged Mercury of June 3. Miller afterward denied that he had purchased the papers of Andrew Stevenson, but said that he had obtained a collection of two or three thousand autographs, some four or five Stevenson letters being among them. In one of these the Mercury was found. As he had indicated the stains on the Mercury which had come from the seal of this particular Stevenson letter, he still maintained that the paper had been found with it. But other

¹ I. e., in characterizing the forgery as well executed.

AM. HIST. REV., VOL. XI.-37.

evidence proved beyond any question that there could have been no possible connection between the two.

2. Miller denied having seen the Cape-Fear Mercury of 1769 in the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester. He did try, he said, to obtain a negative, but it came to him broken, and he returned it at once, without taking an impression: By the courtesy of Mr. J. Chester Bushong, of Worcester, who made this negative, I learn that "it was returned to me broken in many pieces, but I had no information from Mr. Miller as to its being received by him in that condition. On the contrary his letter stating and complaining that the plate was not exact size and that he was compelled to have it rephotographed, for which expense he took the liberty to deduct from my bill, would I think very much contradict his statement to you."

Before passing from these two points I may add that to Collier's on June 13, 1905, Miller wrote: "I do not yet own the Adams letter and the Cape Fear Mercury, so I could not let you have them if I would. They are many hundred miles away at present, altho I hope to own both soon." In a postscript to this same letter he wrote: "I have just recd. (June 14th, a.m.) the print of 'Cape Fear Mercury'. They had no facilities at all for making an 81/4 x 121/4 neg. (the orig. size) but were forced to make several smaller negatives and piece them together." Why did Miller, who had found the Mercury in Stevenson's papers more than "a year ago" and therefore six months before his letter to Collier's, state that he did not own it? and why, if he had it in his possession, did he find it necessary to have it photographed in Worcester, Massachusetts? Mr. Bushong says that Miller ordered the negative about May 15, it was sent to him about June 8, and was returned in pieces about June 21. The original letters of Miller to the photographer have been destroyed, but these dates, given independently of any suggestion from me, correspond with sufficient closeness to that of the letter to Collier's to carry conviction.

In this same letter to Collier's he began by saying: "I hand you herewith the Proclamation of Gov. Montfort Stokes (original) and a reduced print of the first page of the Cape Fear Mercury for June 3rd, 1775." So that on that date he did have a "reduced" photograph of a Mercury (presumably made by the use of the Worcester photograph), and he speaks of a "first page" as though there were other pages to this issue. As stated, the paper shown to me was a single sheet printed only on one side.

3. Miller showed a good knowledge of the chemistry of producing blots, old ink-stains, and paper discolorations—too good a knowl-

edge to be entirely safe, as it must be admitted that his *Mercury* as such is an excellent bit of manufacture.

- 4. He had obtained from Dr. Graham a copy of the broadside which was printed in facsimile in Johnson's *Traditions and Reminiscences*, the wording of which and its list of signers are those of his *Mercury*. At Baltimore he stated voluntarily that he had "lost" this paper. To *Collier's* in June he described it as in his possession, and to me he showed it framed.
- 5. He described a package of papers bearing upon the Mecklenburg Declaration which, though boxed, had been stolen from a storage warehouse. Among these papers was the letter from John Adams to Jefferson reproduced in *Collier's*, and there stated to have once been in the possession of Hon. Jefferson M. Levy, who sold it. The letter is, of course, not an Adams autograph (for the original is in the Library of Congress), but a contemporary copy or a later manufacture; and Mr. Levy writes: "I have not seen the Jefferson letter [i. e., Adams to Jefferson] therein referred to and regret very much to say am not the owner of it. Had I been, no one in the world could have bought it."
- 6. The internal evidence is also against its authenticity. The paper contains the so-called Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence; the list of the killed and wounded at Lexington, Mass., the news being dated Salem, May 25, [1775] (the word "Medford" appears in the third line from the top of the second column); some news items from Philadelphia, dated May 5; an item on the New Jersey Assembly; and a resolution of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, May 15, on the attitude to be taken by the good people of New York toward the British troops. This resolution is headed New York. It is dangerous to undertake to explain the vagaries of a colonial newspaper, but the contents become important, as Dr. Miller seeks to explain any difference that may exist between this Cape-Fear Mercury and any other issue of the same paper by claiming this issue of June 3, 1775, to be a "supplement" to the regular issue of the paper. The explanation thus put forward must be rejected. There is nothing except the Mecklenburg Declaration and the list of killed and wounded at Lexington to demand a supplement, and the columns would have been spaced out by advertisements, and not with regular news items. A paragraph from Philadelphia announces the arrival of the "worthy Dr. Benjamin Franklin" and his election to represent Pennsylvania in the Continental Congress. Another states that no official list of the British loss at Lexington had been published. These two items are assigned to Philadelphia, May 5. Franklin did land on the fifth, and he was

chosen to the Continental Congress on the morning of the sixth. The Philadelphia paper (Pennsylvania Journal) of May 10 announced the arrival of Franklin, but made no mention then or thereafter, so far as I have discovered, of his election to Congress. The Virginia Gazette of May 20 announced his arrival under Philadelphia news, of May 5, but made no mention of his election. The same issue gave the list of provincial loss at Lexington. But the resolve of the Continental Congress of May 15 was not printed in the Virginia Gazette until June 3—the very day on which it appeared in the Cape-Fear Mercury. It is difficult to explain why this resolve should have travelled so much more rapidly than the more important list of loss at Lexington. The two items may be compared in their travels through the press.

"Loss at Lexington": started at Worcester May 3; appeared in Pennsylvania Journal May 24; in Cape-Fear Mercury June 3.

"Congress Resolve": started from New York May 18; appeared in New York Gazette May 22; in Pennsylvania Journal May 24; in Virginia Gazette June 3; in Cape-Fear Mercury June 3.

The official list of British killed, wounded, and missing was printed in the *Pennsylvania Journal* of May 10, yet the *Cape-Fear Mercury* says no such list had been published. It required apparently two full weeks to get the Franklin and Lexington items from Williamsburg, Virginia, to the *Mercury*, and the Congress resolve appeared at Williamsburg and in the *Mercury* on the same day. The *Mercury* cannot be a supplement, and on its face it is not a regular issue.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.